

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 CU-02 DODE-00 EB-07 /067 W

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P R 161242Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 353

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LISBON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SOFIA 2277

BERLIN ALSO FOR USMISSION; BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USMISSION EC
BRUSSELS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, SCUL, BU

SUBJECT: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION: BULGARIA

REF: A) STATE 241627; B) SOFIA 2203; C) SOFIA 2067;
D) SOFIA 2059; E) INGERSOLL-MLADENOV MEMCON;
F) SOFIA 1684; G) STATE 243350

1. I BELIEVE CSCE FOLLOW-UP IN BULGARIA SHOULD FOCUS
PRIMARILY ON THREE ISSUES OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO US
HERE: REUNIFICATION OF DIVIDED FAMILIES; CULTURAL
AND INFORMATION ISSUES; AND CBMS. WITH THE EXCEPTION
OF THE LAST OF THESE, VERY HIGH LEVEL REPRESENTATION OF
US VIEWS HAS ALREADY TAKEN PLACE. I PROPOSE TO CALL ON
THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO REITERATE OUR VIEWS ON THE FIRST
TWO AND TO BROACH THE THIRD. APPROACHES TO ANYONE OF
LESSER RANK WOULD BE INTERPRETED AS HALF-HEARTED.

2. DIVIDED FAMILIES. IN DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL'S
EXTENDED DISCUSSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV
(REF E), AND HIS SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT
ZHIVKOV (REF D), THE USG HAS ALREADY MADE AN EXCEEDINGLY
HIGH LEVEL PRESENTATION OF ITS POSITION ON CSCE AND THE
NEED FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION BY ALL SIGNATORIES TO
IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT PROVISIONS. REFLECTING OUR
PRINCIPAL BASKET THREE CONCERN IN BULGARIA, THE DEPUTY
SECRETARY LAID GREATEST STRESS ON GOB ACTION WITH RESPECT
TO THE 72 DIVIDED FAMILIES CURRENTLY ON OUR LIST. SINCE
THE BULGARIANS ADMIT TO ONLY 23 DIVIDED FAMILIES, WE PLAN
TO HAND THEM AN UPDATED LIST OF CASES AS WE KNOW THEM,
EXPLAINING THAT THOSE NOT ON THE GOB LIST HAD PROBABLY
FELT IT USELESS, UNDER THEN PREVAILING CIRCUMSTANCES,
TO MAKE OR RENEW APPLICATIONS FOR EXIT FROM BULGARIA.
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3. AS WE POINTED OUT IN REFS B AND C, WE BELIEVE OUR BEST
STRATEGY IN DEALING WITH THE DIVIDED FAMILIES ISSUE IS
TO EMPHASIZE THAT WE CONSIDER ZHIVKOV'S STATEMENT TO
THE DEPUTY SECRETARY (REF D) TO BE A COMMITMENT TO
SOLVE THIS PROBLEM SPEEDILY. WE ARE DELIGHTED THAT
THE DEPUTY SECRETARY, IN HIS OCTOBER 9 LUNCHEON
CONVERSATION WITH BULGARIAN AMBASSADOR POPOV (REF G),

HAS ALREADY TAKEN THE FIRST STEP IN UNDERSCORING THIS VIEW. WHEN A LITTLE TIME HAS PASSED TO LET THIS SINK IN, I PROPOSE TO EXPRESS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER IN VERY FRANK TERMS OUR HOPE, INDEED EXPECTATION, OF EARLY ACTION.

4. CULTURAL AND INFORMATION ISSUES. FROM ALL INDICATIONS, THE HARDLINERS WHO CONTROL CULTURAL AND MEDIA MATTERS IN BULGARIA WILL STRONGLY RESIST ANY BUT THE MOST GUARDED AND TENTATIVE STEPS TO IMPLEMENT RELEVANT ASPECTS OF BASKET THREE (SEE PARTICULARLY SOFIA 2209). I WOULD REMIND THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF HIS REPLY TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S PRESENTATION ON THESE ISSUES, WHICH WAS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE GOB WILL INDEED TAKE STEPS TO PERMIT FREER CIRCULATION OF WESTERN PERIODICALS AND BOOKS. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE MAJOR ARENA FOR PUSHING THESE ISSUES IN TERMS DIRECTLY RELEVANT TO THE US WILL BE THE NEGOTIATION OF THE SCIENTIFIC-CULTURAL-EDUCATIONAL AGREEMENT ON WHICH WE EMBARKED WITH THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S PRESENTATION OF THE AMERICAN DRAFT. IT IS HERE, AND IN THE PROGRAM IMPLEMENTING DOCUMENT WHICH WE HOPE TO NEGOTIATE IN TANDEM, THAT WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE OUR EFFORTS ON LOOSENING CONSTRAINTS ON CULTURAL AND INFORMATIONAL ACCESS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SOFIA 2277

5. CBMS. I PROPOSE POINTING OUT THAT WE AND THE OTHER NATO COUNTRIES HAVE TAKEN THE LEAD IN OUR NOTIFICATION OF GROSSE ROCHADE ET AL, AND REMINDING AS WELL OF THE FRG'S INVITATION TO SEND OBSERVERS. I WOULD SAY THAT WE ANTICIPATE RECEIVING SIMILAR NOTIFICATION OF ANY EXERCISES TO BE HELD IN BULGARIA, OR IN WHICH BULGARIA PARTICIPATES. THIS IS, OF COURSE, PRIMARILY A MEANS OF PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE SOVIETS: THE BULGARIANS ARE HARDLY FREE AGENTS IN THIS MATTER.

6. OTHER ISSUES. SOME MATTERS WHICH ARE OF CONCERN IN OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN CAPITALS ARE NOT RELEVANT HERE. BUSINESSMEN AND JOURNALISTS, FOR EXAMPLE, CAN RECEIVE THEIR VISAS AT SOFIA AIRPORT AND IN-COUNTRY TRAVEL IS NOT AT ALL DIFFICULT. BASIC COMPLAINTS OF OUR BUSINESSMEN, SUCH AS THE BULGARIAN HABIT OF IGNORING LETTERS AND TELEXES, CAN BE RAISED MORE USEFULLY DURING SESSIONS OF THE BULGARIAN-US ECONOMIC COUNCIL (BUSEC). CONSULAR ACCESS HAS NOT BEEN A PROBLEM HERE SINCE THE

SIGNING OF THE US-BULGARIAN CONSULAR CONVENTION.

7. LIAISON WITH ALLIES, AND TIMING. IN SETTING FORTH THE FOREGOING PROPOSED SCENARIO, I AM CONCERNED THAT WE ARE WAY OUT AHEAD OF ALL OUR ALLIES IN THIS MATTER. WE HAVE DURING THE PAST WEEKS HAD CONSULTATIONS WITH NATO AMBASSADORS HERE ON CSCE FOLLOW-UP. THEY HAVE OUR CHECK-LIST, ABOUT WHICH THEY EXPRESSED ENTHUSIASM. BUT NOT A SINGLE ONE AMONG THEM HAS OR ANTICIPATES EARLY INSTRUCTIONS TO GO INTO AN EXERCISE SIMILAR TO OURS. IT IS APPARENT TO THEM THAT THE SOVIETS SIMPLY HAVE NOT YET DEVELOPED A COORDINATED STRATEGY ON CSCE FOLLOW-UP AND THEREFORE MAY REACT BY REFLEX, IN A HOSTILE MANNER, TO MOVES THAT THEY INTERPRET AS DESIGNED TO PUT THEM ON THE DEFENSIVE (SUCH AS THE SPEEDY CBM NOTIFICATIONS.) THE SAME COULD VERY WELL BE THE CASE HERE IN BULGARIA.

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8. ACCORDINGLY, I PROPOSE LETTING A LITTLE TIME GO BY BEFORE MAKING ANOTHER APPROACH TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, CONSIDERING ALSO THAT OUR VIEWS IN THIS MATTER (WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS) HAVE ALREADY BEEN STATED TO HIM AT A MUCH MORE AUTHORITATIVE LEVEL. HAVING CARRIED THE BALL DURING THE FIRST INNING, I WOULD THINK IT APPROPRIATE, FOR INSTANCE, TO SEE IF THE BRITISH MINISTER OF STATE, MR. ROY HATTERSLEE, WHO WILL VISIT IN THE NEAR FUTURE CAN HAVE A SECOND INNING BEFORE WE APPROACH THE BULGARIANS AGAIN ON CSCE. REF B HAS REPORTED THAT THE GOB IS CLAIMING TO BE FULL OF GOOD WILL ON THE DIVIDED FAMILIES ISSUE AND PREPARED TO HAVE A FULL REVIEW AS SOON AS THEY CAN PULL THEIR TOP PEOPLE ON THAT SUBJECT TOGETHER.
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